LABOUR MONTHLY

EDITOR R. PALME DUTT

NOTES OF THE MONTH — R. P. D.

A FINAL WORD ON UNITY — Harry Pollitt

THE PROBLEM OF UNITY — P. G. Barstow, M.P.

SYMPOSIUM ON AFFILIATION

YOUTH AND THE NATION — Mick Bennett

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FIRST CATCH YOUR HARE — Norbert Holz

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DOCUMENTS OF THE MONTH

NEW HORIZONS —GREATER TASKS

6D

JUNE 1943

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LABOUR MONTHLY DEVELOPMENT FUND

Total received in May, 1943 : £107 : 15 : 6

WHAT YOU THINK ABOUT US.

This month has brought in a very large harvest of praise from our readers—old readers, new readers, Forces readers, factory readers, and readers from every sphere of the Home Front. A soldier thinks: "The standard of our MONTHLY, always high, seems to have *soared to new heights* lately, and we look forward eagerly to each month's copy as an invaluable guide . . ." Another: "Since my entry into H.M. Forces, my eagerness in awaiting its delivery has greatly increased. It would be an impossibility to be without it." A sailor: "Cut off as we are from English newspapers, and having to rely on the foreign newspapers for our information on events at home, L.M. comes like a breath of clean, fresh air." And he must have experience of clean, fresh air! A doctor: "It is something one can get one's teeth into. And it has a punch!" A war-worker: "LABOUR MONTHLY is essential to the politically-minded person, not only for the lucid summary of what has happened, but as a basis for an estimate of future events." And Old Age Pensioner: "Sorry I cannot make it more for our great paper. Demands on the pockets get heavier. *But the workers' cause must be supported.*" Another O.A.P.: "I am a 76-year old ex-miner and all the money I receive is 19s. per week, but I am proud to do a little to help." He sends us 7s.

The upshot of all this is splendid! The Fund has gone up.

We are happy to announce that a last-minute rush of donations has brought our total up to the target and beyond it. Thank you, readers!

WE NEED £100 PER MONTH.

Continued on page III of Cover

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NOTES OF THE MONTH

New Horizons—Greater Tasks—Labour Party Conference—A Vital Responsibility—Issues before the Conference—Conference Agenda—Trade Unions and Labour Party—Easter Conferences—War and Post-War—False Divisions—Leadership To-Day—Foundations of Post-War Planning—Electoral Truce—Herbert Morrison's Speeches—The Path of Refusal of Unity—Through Unity to Victory.

WITH the summer of 1943 the hopes and determination of the United Nations are running high. The final surrender of von Arnim and the Axis forces in Northern Africa in May, following within four months of the surrender of von Paulus and the remains of the Sixth Army before Stalingrad in January, has marked the definite passing of superiority to the United Nations. The first combined victories of the alliance against Fascism have increased confidence and the certainty of final victory; they have strengthened and consolidated the alliance against all disruptive manoeuvres; they have created the conditions for the rapid advance to the decisive combined offensive for the complete destruction of Fascism. This is reinforced by the heavy losses which the Axis has sustained and is sustaining, including through the intensified air offensive; the increasingly defensive tone of Axis utterance; and the unrest among the satellite states of Hitler's slave system. The climax of the war is approaching. New horizons are opening out for the nations of the world.

WE can afford no illusions as to the scale of the battles which have now to be faced. All that has gone before is preliminary: the main battles are in front. There can be no easy victory over Fascism. We have still to be prepared for offensive actions of the Axis in the last desperate thrust which their super-mobilisation has sought to prepare: but the decisive initiative is in the hands of the United Nations. The advance to the invasion of Europe, not only from the South, but from the West; the full-scale combined action of the United Nations from the East and from the West; the military mobilisation of the European peoples, and especially of the French nation under a French Republican Government on French soil: these are now the essential tasks. All our efforts need to be directed towards united endeavour for the speeding and fulfilment of these tasks. It is obvious that the coming weeks are the most important since the opening of the battle against Fascism. The speed and effectiveness and combination of action of the United Nations to match the opportunity of the present hour will determine the choice between victory in 1943 or prolongation of the war.

IT is in this developing climax of the war against Fascism that the Labour Party Conference meets. Delegates of nearly two and a half million organised workers, the largest mass political organisation in this country, will have the greatest opportunity and responsibility that has come before any Labour Conference for many years. It was a landmark when the Foundation Conference in 1900 established the Labour Party. It was a landmark when the 1918 Conference, in response to the vast changes set in motion by the first world war and the Russian Revolution, proclaimed the aim of Socialism, and inaugurated that expansion and advance which was only frustrated and brought to grief by the paralysing and disruptive policies of MacDonald and the Independent Labour Party reformist leadership then dominating the movement. Fourteen years have now passed since the electoral peak was reached and gave place to decline, followed by decline of membership. To-day the conditions of the second world war have set in motion vastly greater changes.

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TO-DAY the nations of the world are advancing in united battle to liberation. Fascism has taught the lesson of unity. The old social and economic order stands condemned in the sight of all, however varied the differences still as to the path forward. The Soviet Union, no longer the struggling young republic of a quarter of a century ago, has established its position in the forefront of World Powers, and by its achievement in the war against Nazism stands out as the main architect of victory. The British-Soviet Alliance, established for twenty years ahead, is the pivot of the nation's world policy and of a future world settlement. Free China has advanced to a leading world role. India presses forward to freedom. The Europe that emerges from the prison-house of Fascism will bear no resemblance to the old.

A NEW world is opening out: but the most perilous struggles are before us, which will determine its shape. The British Labour Movement has the foremost responsibility in the western world, alongside the Soviet Union, to build up the unity of the progressive forces, nationally and internationally, to respond to the tasks of the present hour, and by its leadership in the present struggle to earn its leadership in the building of a new Britain and a new world.

CONCRETELY, this means that the first tasks of the Labour Party Conference must be directly related to the war: to rally the nation's effort for the speediest full-strength combined offensive in Europe, that is, for the Second Front in Europe, as unanimously demanded by the Scottish Trades Union Congress; and to oppose all delaying or disruptive manoeuvres, whether of reactionary sections in Britain or in the United States, or within the refugee Allied Governments, as in the Polish Government, or of individuals within its own ranks, which hinder victory. Second, to demand the strengthening of the Government at this critical point for democratic anti-Fascist aims, and the removal of specific Ministers with notorious pro-Fascist records who are a source of weakness and undermine public confidence as well as effective measures against pro-Fascist organisations and agitation. Third, to demand the ending of the present indefensible impasse in India, with the close Japanese menace, by the release of all anti-Fascist political prisoners and the opening of negotiations for a united Indian National Government. Fourth, to press forward all essential social and economic measures for democratic mobilisation, including the democratic strengthening of the war controls and the immediate implementing of the Beveridge Report. Fifth, as the indispensable condition for the effective fulfilment of the tasks and political leadership of the labour movement, to establish labour unity by the acceptance of the affiliation of the Communist Party.

HOW far does the preliminary Agenda before the Labour Party Conference correspond to these urgent tasks? The Executive Committee has put forward five special resolutions dealing with (1) Post War Relief in Europe; (2) a National Health Service; (3) Housing and Town Planning; (4) Labour and Youth; (5) Local Government, and is reported to be issuing a further interim report on post-war reconstruction. Of the resolutions submitted from affiliated organisations, the largest number on any single issue (39, including two Trade Unions) deal with the Beveridge Report; the second largest number (38—no Trade Unions) demand the ending of the electoral truce, together with two demanding Labour withdrawal from the Government; the third largest number (29, including three Trade Unions and one national organisation) deal with Communist affiliation, all three Trade Unions

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and 23 of the 25 constituency parties being in favour; 19 resolutions deal with war aims and international policy; 16 deal with Vansittartism; 12 with India; 11 with Service Pensions. These are the main issues on which there are more than ten resolutions.

IT is noticeable that of the nearly three hundred resolutions submitted, only 10 come from the Trade Unions, and that only 8 of the 67 affiliated Unions have troubled to place any resolution on the agenda. This contrasts with the fact that ninety per cent. of the total membership is affiliated through the Trade Unions. One of the lessons of the agenda is thus to demonstrate the room and need for increasing the active concern of the Trade Unions, as the mass organisations of the workers, in the affairs of the Labour Party. This is closely connected with the low level of payment of the political levy (roughly, out of every five trade unionists affiliated to the Trades Union Congress only two are affiliated to the Labour Party), and the lack of facilities in the majority of unions for the membership to meet and register their opinions on the issues before the Labour Party Conference in order to mandate the delegates who will vote in their name. The previous practice by which the Trades Union Congress, with its traditional September session, preceded the Labour Party Conference by one month, and influenced its decisions, has been, on understandable grounds, discontinued with the change of date of the Labour Party Conference to Whitsun. But no alternative practice has been established to hold a special national conference of every Union shortly prior to the Labour Party Conference, so as to ensure that the membership discuss the issues and that the delegates exercise their decisive voting power in accordance with the wishes of the membership.

WHERE Trade Union Conferences have been held at Easter or immediately after, in the weeks prior to the Labour Party Conference, the results have revealed a striking picture of present moods and trends within the movement. The seven conferences of Unions affiliated to the Labour Party, as well as the eighth, that of the Post Office Workers (at present excluded by the Trade Union Act from affiliation to the T.U.C. or Labour Party, but which showed its spirit in the decision to affiliate to the T.U.C. in defiance of the Act), together with the Scottish Trades Union Congress and the Co-operative Party Conference, revealed, in general, a marked growth of strength and a progressive and militant spirit: support for the Second Front, wide support for unity and opposition to the Black Circular, support for Indian freedom and other progressive issues. On Communist affiliation five of the seven conferences (South Wales Miners, Scottish Miners, Clerks, Shop Assistants, Shipbuilding Draughtsmen, Public Employees and Pottery Workers) registered votes in favour, and two (Boot and Shoe Operatives and Distributive Workers) registered votes against. There is no doubt that if national conferences were held of all unions prior to the Labour Party Conference, this would increase the active interest of the trade union membership in the political movement, and make more representative the resultant votes of the Labour Party Conference.

BUT what is glaringly conspicuous about the preliminary Agenda before the Labour Party Conference, and especially the Executive resolutions, is the complete ignoring of the war and the tasks of the military struggle against Fascism, and the concentration on post-war aims and plans as a substitute. It would be understandable on technical grounds that resolutions drawn up considerably in advance of the conference can-

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not yet deal with immediate issues, which will be covered in the Executive Report, the Chairman's Address and Emergency Resolutions. But what is here involved is not merely a question of technical grounds, but of a political line.

WHAT is this political line? It is the political line which found expression in the *Daily Herald* editorial statement on March 22:—

> It is not the people's job, or Parliament's, to plot the daily course of battle. But they can guide the War Cabinet in its decisions on peace policy.

Here, behind the false antithesis between the "daily course of battle" and "peace policy" (as if there were no broad democratic issues of the conduct of a people's anti-Fascist war, of vital concern to the people, between these two extremes) lies the conception of a division of spheres. In essence, that division means that the ruling class conducts the war, while the labour movement discusses the peace. The conduct of the war is regarded as the exclusive concern of the Government, dominated by Conservatism, and of its experts, with a subordinate role of Labour Ministers, but with no role of the labour and democratic movement in the country; while the task of the labour movement is relegated to the harmless sphere of paper planning for a hypothetical post-war world whose real outlines are being determined in action elsewhere.

THIS is the political line which means paralysis of the labour movement on all the vital present issues of the war, decisive for the whole future of the working-class and of socialism. It means free play for the anti-democratic retarding elements and the pro-Fascist manoeuvres, whose activity is intensified as the prospect of the downfall of Fascism draws closer. It means failure to rally and mobilise the nation in all-out effort and democratic political participation, not against the Government, but in support of the Government, and pressing forward the Government along the lines of democratic anti-Fascist war for the maximum combined offensive of the United Nations and for speedy victory. It means free play to the tendencies to apathy or sectionalist indifference among some sections of the labour movement, despite universal anti-Fascist sentiments, owing to this failure of political mobilisation and continuous inspiring leadership. This political line, in short, means the abdication of the labour movement on present issues. And precisely this abdication on present issues makes the post-war planning also unreal.

POST-WAR issues cannot be separated from the present issues of the war. The one grows out of the other. The present determines the future. Only a powerful and united labour movement, which is able to exercise its political leadership in the present issues of the war and in the winning of victory, will be able to carry forward that leadership in determining the character of the peace and in confronting the vast issues which will follow victory. Planning which confines itself to technical details, but ignores the political conditions for the strength to carry out plans, is at the best empty and formal; and in practice it becomes vitiated by this political blindness and turns into a feeble echo of the plans of the ruling class, in place of the inspiring leadership of a labour movement confident in its strength. The two essential pillars of all post-war planning are and must be: first military victory (not as a formal assumption, but as a present practical task); and second, the strength and unity of the labour movement. That strength and unity of the labour movement can only be built up now in the midst of the war, in the present tasks of the war, and with present leadership. Without this foundation, all post-war planning becomes a mirage.

THE problem of the achievement of the strength, unity and positive political leadership of the labour movement in the present issues of the war

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is at the root of all the current controversies and dilemmas: the relative stagnation of the political labour movement, the breakaway tendencies and growth of adventurist alternative forms of organisation. This underlies the controversy on the electoral truce, which has now reached such a stage of division and confusion as to register a vote of seven on the Executive Committee for its termination against seventeen for its continuance. The demand for the ending of the electoral truce or for the withdrawal of Labour from the Government is not an expression of strength, but of weakness. It reflects the hankering after the normal peacetime opposition role, to surrender finally the conduct of the war completely into the hands of Conservatism, to confine the gaze to short-term electoral calculations, to ignore the responsibility of leading and rallying the unity of the people in the most critical stage of the war, and to pass over to the position of a parliamentary opposition party specialising in post-war planning.

REFUSAL of class unity, the assumption of the weakness of a divided labour movement, leads also to defeatism in post-war planning. This is conspicuous in the official propaganda and programmes on reconstruction, or in such pronouncements as the recent series of speeches of Herbert Morrison, closely paralleling the economic and social assumptions of the Prime Minister's broadcast on the post-war structure of society. The distinctions between socialist and capitalist conceptions are declared obsolete. The Conservatives, Mr. Morrison tells is, have led the way in nationalisation:—

> The Conservatives have done more nationalisation, and brought more services under public control, than has the Labour Party. They did the telephones, the Metropolitan Water Board, the Central Electricity Board and the B.B.C. . . . The issue of public control is not really so dogmatically disputed as we are apt to make out.
>
> Herbert Morrison, interview in the *Observer*, April 17, 1943.)

The picture is presented of a planned and organised monopoly capitalism, with a wide sphere of State regulation and control, and with Labour as a junior partner.

THE political counterpart of such a picture is permanent coalition, either as formal coalition tending to a single national party (with the Trade Unions passing out of the political field to a neutral economic role as the junior partners of the monopoly capitalists in the field of industry), or thinly veiled in the alternation of barely distinguishable parties agreed on fundamentals. The picture is not a new one: it was the familiar theme of Hilferding and German Social Democracy in the nineteen-twenties and led to known consequences. These are dangerous tendencies which strike at the foundations of the labour movement and its future. What is here in question is not merely theoretical conceptions of the future of the State and industry. What is here in question is the basic understanding of the role of the labour movement, and the demonstration where the path of refusal of unity of the labour movement inevitably leads, as it led MacDonald.

FOR all these reasons, the cardinal question before the Labour Party Conference, governing all other issues, is the question of the unity of the labour movement (concretely expressed in the proposal for Communist Party affiliation), in order that the movement may with maximum strength fulfil its task of leadership both in the war and after the war. The delegates to the Labour Party Conference have a great responsibility. Whatever the previous views, whatever the past controversies, they need to see this question with fresh eyes and minds in the light of present realities, in the light of the mighty issues now developing, the climax of the war which is before us, and the vast world changes which are in store. All countries, Governments and peoples, watch this issue in Britain. It is not for no-

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thing that Franco and Axis propaganda quote with relish the arguments of the Executive majority against affiliation. The delegates can defeat these hopeful anticipations of the enemies of freedom, democracy and Socialism. The establishment of labour unity in Britain would be the equivalent of a new military victory against Fascism—not that there is any substitute for military victory, but because it would be the most powerful reinforcement to ensure military victory, and to determine the character of the peace and the post-war world.

May 17, 1943. R. P. D.

A Final Word on Unity

by HARRY POLLITT

IT is possible that when the Labour Party Conference meets on June 14, the new decisive battles of the war will already have opened out. From all that has been said, both by the leaders of the United Nations and by the Fascist Powers, it is clear that the outcome of the war will be decided by the character of the struggles of the summer and autumn of 1943.

The deliberations of the Labour Party Conference are, therefore, of overwhelming importance, for in the last analysis it is the organised workers who have it in their power to determine the course of the present struggle and the successful solution, in the interests of the common people, of the inevitable problems that will arise when the victory has been won.

It is no exaggeration to say that one of the most important questions before the Labour Party Conference is that of the Communist Party application for affiliation to the Labour Party. This question is vital to the present and future of all that the labour movement stands for. It is the issue of Unity—the coming together of every section of the organised working-class movement from which unity can grow and extend throughout every sphere of the movement.

On no other issue affecting Labour has there been such political discussion, such controversy and press publicity, and such a large number of resolutions (over 3,000 at the time of writing, in support of affiliation, from every section of the labour, trade union and co-operative movement).

These figures are all the more significant, because it is common knowledge that in the case of certain trade unions, whose leaders are opposed to affiliation, their trade union branches hardly ever meet; and also because of one of the most disquieting aspects of the situation in the Labour Party, Trade Unions and Co-operative Guilds, is the serious falling off in attendance at the traditional weekly, fortnightly, or monthly branch meetings.

The whole of this support for Communist affiliation represents, therefore, something new and phenomenal in British working-class politics. It reveals the mass instinct for the necessity of Unity, whatever may have been the political differences in the past; it represents the firm acceptance of the pledges given by the Communist Party in applying for affiliation to the Labour Party, and the conviction that alleged present difficulties could speedily be overcome, if open negotiations had taken place, or were to take place, between the leaders of the Labour and Communist Parties.

Those who are supporting affiliation are precisely that active and politically-minded section of the labour movement who are its basic foundation, who carry on the life and activity of the labour movement despite all the difficulties of war-time conditions. Their support for Communist affiliation proves that they and those they represent have learnt the political lesson of the past decade of Fascism: that this menace can only be eliminated for ever on the basis of a united working-class.

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This is why the Transport House campaign of distortion, misrepresentation and slander against the Communist Party has not been able to succeed in its objective of preventing the growth of the mass movement in our support.

Every conceivable red herring has been brought out; deliberate misrepresentation of the Communist Party attitude to the first stage of the war; complete silence about the refusal of the Labour leaders to adopt the policy of the United Front against Fascism which could have prevented war ever breaking out; undisguised efforts to destroy among the British workers any conception of, or belief in, the meaning of real Internationalism, in order to cover up the fact that the Labour leaders have even destroyed their own Labour and Socialist International, as Fredrick Adler pointed out in his Memorandum of June, 1939 (a document, by the way, that the Labour Party has not yet made available to its membership).

There have been thinly disguised attacks on the social system of the U.S.S.R., its methods of government and leadership, which all the tributes to the heroism of the Red Army do not cover up. There have been open threats to split the Labour Party, by certain trade union leaders, if the coming Labour Party Conference accepts our affiliation.

Yet despite this barrage of propaganda —a barrage such as has never been organised for any other political campaign but that of opposing Unity—Transport House cannot damp down the rising demand from the best sections of its present affiliated membership, that the Labour Party should be strengthened by the affiliation of the Communist Party.

There is one thing that stands out from the official arguments of the Labour Party Executive Committee against our affiliation. It is that the real basis of their opposition has not yet been openly stated.

None of the arguments noted above is the real reason, nor is their opposition due to a fear of "political difficulties" arising because the Communist Party, being in a numerical minority, would have to carry out policy decisions with which it might disagree.

The real opposition is based on the knowledge that the unity of thought and action brought about in the entire labour movement by Communist affiliation would mean that majority decisions could be in the direction of a real working-class policy, ceaseless political campaigning, and all round recruitment to every section of the labour movement.

It is the knowledge that Communist affiliation would immediately open out new perspectives for the whole labour movement. Those Labour leaders who organise the opposition to unity do so because they tend to be content with things as they are, and are afraid of the new strength and power that would come to Labour. They realise the new character that would be given to the Labour Party, cutting right across the pre-war policies of co-operation with capitalism and the hopes that the present necessary co-operation could become a permanent feature of Labour Party policy. They realise that it would mean the development of the Labour Party as an active political force, defending the daily interests of the masses inside and outside of Parliament, and consciously linking this with the ceaseless fight for Socialism. Such a perspective does not conform to the political outlook and practice of these Labour leaders.

Communist affiliation would mean a united working-class fighting force throughout the country; a more united and powerful trade union movement; a stronger Co-operative movement more closely linked with the Labour Party and Trade Unions than at present. At once this would strengthen the real national unity of all those who genuinely seek to overthrow Fascism, and thus help to organise fully the total resources of Britain for the speediest victory over Fascism, on the basis of its unconditional surrender,

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ensuring a People's Peace and affording the guarantees that post-war problems will be solved in the interests of the common people and not of big business and monopoly.

Moreover, it would lay the foundation upon which a more united and powerful international labour movement could be built.

These new perspectives for Labour—in the full meaning of the term—make the opposition of Transport House to Communist affiliation not only indefensible but extremely dangerous—not for the Communist Party, but for the Labour Party and its affiliated membership and organisations.

One of the most persistent opponents of Communist affiliation, Mr. Arthur Deakin, Acting Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, speaking at Luton on May 6, gave, perhaps unconsciously, the most powerful support to our case for working-class unity when he said:—

> Any failure on our part as a trade union or labour movement to face up to our responsibilities would be the greatest act of treachery to our comrades in Europe and Asia who have suffered so much.

That is our case for Unity in a nutshell, and we hope that Mr. Deakin will remember his own words when it comes to registering the very important vote of his Union at the Labour Party Conference.

Previous articles in the LABOUR MONTHLY by R. Palme Dutt have traced the historical development of the Labour Party, shown its rise and its present decline, and proved that if the Labour Party is to realise the aims of the old pioneers it can only do so when the Communist Party is affiliated to it, bringing that new outlook, vigour and enthusiasm that represent new life, and not decay.

The Labour Party Conference will reveal many serious political divisions, arising, not from healthy growth and development, but from the grave decline in the Labour Party as a fighting political force and leadership. The electoral truce, participation in a National Government, alarm at the support given to Common Wealth candidates in by-elections, are in reality not the basis of the present unrest in the Labour Party. They are only the focal points around which the divisions will manifest themselves.

At root, these divisions arise from complete lack of faith in the working-class, and from the absence of the scientific theory and practice known as Marxism. This explains the last twenty years of Labour Party history—its bans and expulsions of Communists, the failure of two Labour Governments, the rejection of policies that could have prevented war, the decline in individual sections of the Labour Party, and the present opposition to Communist affiliation. These are the direct results of the refusal to build up a Labour Party truly representative of every section of the organised labour movement.

In short, the Labour Party Conference has to decide, not the future of the Communist Party, but through its attitude to Communist affiliation the future of the Labour Party itself.

We do not believe the legend about the dominance of the Labour Party by a few trade union leaders representing very big organisations, because the same upsurge and demand for Unity that is expressing itself inside the Labour Party is also at work in the Trade Unions and Co-operative movement. In fact, it is even stronger inside the trade unions than it is in many of the local and divisional organisations of the Labour Party itself. Very profound changes have taken place and will continue to take place on an increasing scale in the Trade Unions of this country. Think of the position a few years ago in relation to Arthur Horner, Joe Scott, Wal Hannington, Bert Papworth, and Abe Moffatt. Then think of the positions of Trade Union trust and responsibility they occupy at the present time. Is it not significant that in every case these Communist leaders have been elected by record votes of their trade union membership?

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What case can be made out to justify depriving the miners, engineers, transport workers and other important sections of the working-class or the service these same leaders could give to the Labour Party just as effectively as they are serving the trade union movement? How can these leaders be loyal to the Trade Unions and disloyal to the Labour Party?

There is another point that may be worth making, in reference to the threat of Mr. Dukes, General Secretary of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, that certain unions would have to consider leaving the Labour Party in the event of Communist affiliation being accepted. This is a line of policy that has also been advocated in certain reactionary sections of the Roman Catholic press. This new interpretation of "democracy," that you remain in the Labour Party so long as you get all that you want, and leave it immediately you cannot get your own way, is one that will be sternly repudiated by the rank and file of the Labour Party and its affiliated organisations.

We are sure that the Labour Party Conference will not be intimidated by threats of this kind. They were made at the Trades Union Congress at Blackpool last year, during the discussion on the T.U.C. education policy. Those who made them got small satisfaction. The Labour Party proved in 1931 that it knows how to deal with those who are not prepared to conform to majority decisions, and what happened to MacDonald, Snowden and Thomas, might with profit be considered by people like Mr. Charles Dukes. The workers have paid too heavy a price for disunity to allow any Trade Union leader, however self-important and opiniated he may be, to split any section of the labour movement.

The campaign for affiliation has already produced many important results, of a permanent educational political character. It has brought increased class consciousness to tens of thousands of younger men and women in the Labour Party, and a better understanding of the role of the working-class in British politics. It has given them a more intimate knowledge of the history of their own labour movement, and has increased the feeling of strength and power that unity can bring to the movement as a whole. It has aroused a steadily increasing international interest—in the United States, in all the British Dominions, in India, and among every section of foreign Socialist exiles now living in London; and there is no doubt that when affiliation is won it will have a profound effect on the entire international labour movement.

These facts emphasise the importance of the tremendous issues that Communist affiliation raises, and the service that the Communist Party has rendered to the whole movement in so energetically campaigning for their realisation. But it may be time to emphasise also this point, that the issue of Unity in Britain is one that will only, and can only, be settled in Britain.

In the February issue of the LABOUR MONTHLY, in writing on the relations of the Labour Party and the Communist Party, I said:—

> The world can never be the same world as it was in September, 1939. Whether we like it or not, there are already many political changes taking place in the minds of millions of people in Britain and all over the world. The relations between states and peoples are being changed and will change still further. The British labour movement *will not remain static; the Constitutions of its* various organisations will not represent the last word in drafting objectives, and methods of achieving objectives. The tremendous sacrifices that the war against Fascism has already evoked, the greater sacrifices that victory will inevitably demand, the problems of winning the war and the peace, pose before every serious and honest Socialist entirely new questions that prejudice cannot solve and refusal to face can only succeed in aggravating.

Every political event that has happened since February has only served to strengthen the correctness of that analysis. Those who are not prepared to face it render grave disservice to the whole cause of Labour.

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We make no magic claim for the Communist Party, but we know for a certainty the new hope and enthusiasm that would be generated throughout the labour movement, and in the Labour Party in particular, if the first step to unity was realised by Communist affiliation.

The issue is as urgent as the situation. I write this article on May 10 in full understanding that there will have been the most profound changes in the entire situation at home and abroad by the time the Labour Party Conference opens on June 14.

Britain will have many eye-openers this year. Sacrifice and struggle will have taken on a new meaning for every one of us, and the people are ready and willing to do and give all that the victory will demand. The more united they are and the stronger their leadership, the shorter the war and the more decisive will be both the victory and the peace. That is why the present process of disintegration of the Labour Party, caused because the Communist Party is not affiliated to it, must be ended.

One other point needs to be touched upon. After the titanic struggle that must still be waged to win this war, no country in the world will have so many difficult problems to solve as Britain. Because there is to-day a certain measure of unity in defeating Fascism, that does not mean the automatic end of imperialist rivalries and contradictions. The British working-class will need a stronger, more powerful and more united labour movement than the workers have ever contemplated, and one that has the closest possible association with the workers of all lands.

A very great deal of time will be spent at the Labour Party Conference in preparing for post-war planning, in demands that the Government shall declare where it stands in relation to post-war reconstruction; but Labour itself must plan, not on the basis of blue-prints for polite parliamentary discussion and debate, but for the serious use of that power of the working-class that will leave the issue in no doubt. A united labour movement is the only hope of the British people; its achievement rests upon the organised working class. The Communist Party is an integral part of this class; it cannot be separated and isolated from it.

Our country, in common with the rest of the United Nations, stands on the eve of the greatest conflicts in world history. Arrayed against the United Nations are the forces of Fascism, partly weakened, yet still tremendously strong and powerful. Their one hope of evading their complete and unconditional surrender is that they may divide the United Nations. If ever there was a time when the labour movement should set the example of unity in the fight against Fascism, it is now.

The complete defeat of Fascism, the achievement of a People's Peace, and the opening of real possibilities of marching towards Socialism—those are the common aims of the Labour Party and of the Communist Party. It is to help make our contribution towards the speediest realisation of these aims that we apply for affiliation to the Labour Party.

The Editor of LABOUR MONTHLY will be very glad to receive contributions in the form of finished articles or of suggestions and data for articles. The customary proviso must be made that no responsibility is undertaken for manuscripts sent to him nor can he promise to enter into correspondence regarding contributions not accepted.

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The Problem of Unity

by P. G. BARSTOW, M.P.

IN the year 1919 the National Union of Railwaymen made important alterations in its rules. In the objects of the Union was inserted a clause which states that the Union shall work for the supersession of the capitalist system by a socialistic order of society. During the intervening years the Union has made lavish contributions to the Labour Party funds, and thousands of pounds have been spent in the constituencies where its members have been candidates. It is, therefore, legitimate to ask how much nearer are we to Socialism now than we were twenty-four years ago and what are the prospects of Socialism being established at some distant time in the future. In fact, many Socialists in that period have changed their ideas of what Socialism really is: some of our statesmen even regard the London Passenger Transport Board as Socialism, and some even justify private enterprise in the new order following the conclusion of the war. My experience teaches me that amongst the Forces and civilians alike there has been a definite swing to the Left, and the platitudes of the past will not be accepted by the millions of young people who will be included on the next electoral register. The same desire for social changes can also be discerned in the votes accorded for "Commonwealth" candidates. Our task, therefore, is to consider ways and means of bringing about the social change the people want.

Under war conditions, the established parties have agreed wholeheartedly to support the Government because the country is in danger. Why the danger ever arose is outside the purview of this article, but it is germane to say that had we been fully alive to our responsibilities, had we learned the lesson of Spain, the Fascist powers would have had their wings clipped long ago. Not until the collapse of Europe did we realise that it was imperative we should assist in the formation of a national Government and mobilise the nation's resources of men, labour and property and materials. It is, of course, a fact that the Communist Party did not give its support to the national Government at the outset, but whatever may have been the cause of their tactics at that time, its struggle to rally the whole nation round the Churchill Government bears comparison with that of any other party. In its desire to avoid any weakening of the Government it has supported and worked for Government candidates at the by-elections, because like my own party, it recognises the necessity of smashing Fascism. When that has been accomplished there will be a very grave situation to face. Instead of a united nation there will be bitter strife. All the sacrifices made by the people will be forgotten, wages will be forced down to enable the industrialists to compete in the markets of the world, and naturally mass unemployment will follow. Not a pretty picture, is it? But anyone who is capable of thinking knows it is not overdrawn. True, there may be a four-year plan launched by the Conservative Party, but that will not take the people on the road to Socialism.

Surely there is a moral to be drawn from these facts, and that is: any division in the ranks of the workers will mean the handing over of power to those people who brought the people to the edge of the abyss by their appeasement of the Fascist powers; the same people who compelled millions of our people to live under undescribable conditions of poverty; the same people who have their plans made for the post-war period. In the pre-war period the Labour and Communist Parties concentrated a large part of their energies in bitter recrimination, not only in this country, but throughout Europe, and we here cannot afford to follow the example of the German Social Democrats, who were more concerned with holding their

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own positions than they were in establishing Socialism in conjunction with the Spartacists. But the war has healed many political wounds on the continent, as witness the following extract from the *Daily Herald* of May 15, 1943:—

> There a Council of French Resistance, representing every organisation and shade of political opinion pitted against the Nazis, meets regularly. They include guerillas and partisans, Trade Unions and underground liberation movements, and six political parties ranging from Socialists and Communists on the Left to others on the centre and right.

In all the occupied countries there is unity between the parties of the Left, born of their common necessity to defeat the enemy. I know all the old arguments against unity. The affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party will mean the disruption of the latter: the Communist Party leaders want to get control of the Labour Party to bring about a violent revolution: the Communist Party is not a British party, it can only act on the orders of the Communist International. If affiliation is accepted, Mr. Dukes will take his portion of the Labour Party away. What nonsense! The time has gone by when any "leader" can dispose of his Union as he thinks fit.

The Communist Party, according to its own statement has 60,000 members, or should I say 60,000 people who want nothing less than Socialism. To suggest that these 60,000 could disrupt or secure control of the powerful Labour Party with its affiliated Trade Union membership is absurd, and no one knows that better than the people who use the argument.

I confess I do not know the inner working of the Communist International, but I do know something of the Labour and Socialist International. In every European crisis that body passed a long resolution meaning exactly nothing, simply because it was composed of men who were more concerned with keeping things as they are rather than bringing about social ownership. No one expected Mr. Vaino Tanner, of Finland, to work for Socialism. No, the Communist Party inside the Labour Party would give drive to the Socialist aspirations of the latter. The Labour Party would then attract the young people and would bring back into its ranks the men and women who have become malcontents.

Many Communist Party members occupy responsible positions in the Trade Union movement because of their integrity and ability, and there is no logical argument against them taking their place on the political side of the movement. The time has come to exercise commonsense, to face facts as they are, and to unify all our forces in readiness for the struggle against all vested interests. Let us get back to first principles. Let us join together in a great international movement to rebuild Europe on solid foundations of Socialism. It can be done if we are united, If we fail now, the future will be disastrous.

Symposium on Affiliation

JOHN HORNER

(General Secretary, Fire Brigades' Union)

I hold the view that the Executive of the Labour Party should accept the application for affiliation made by the Communist Party. I do so because I believe that those problems now facing us, and those with which we will be confronted after the war, demand for their solution the sweeping away of every element leading to disunity and weakness within our movement. I believe that, by accepting this affiliation, the Labour Party will find a source of re-invigoration, and a store of energy which can be harnessed to tackle the immense tasks which lie ahead of us.

I am aware of the mistakes of the past. I believe, however, that anyone seriously attempting to evaluate the present position will not unduly dwell on those mis-

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takes, made by more than one party on the Left. In the Union of which I am a member—some 50,000 men and women, mostly under forty—more than half our membership, have, since the war, come into the labour movement for the first time. I know that, amongst these people, there are many who are perturbed at some of the official arguments put forward against affiliation by the Labour Party Executive. The opinion seems to be that, given good will and a genuine disinterestedness, it should not be beyond the intelligence of the leaders of both parties to arrive at some satisfactory agreement on the question of what measure of authority the Communist International has over national parties. Some of the other arguments, such as the inferred source of Communist Party finance, are unimpressive. It has been suggested that, because we, in the Labour Party, want to achieve Socialism by peaceful means, we cannot work with the Communists. I want Socialism to come without violence and disorder. But I believe it to be fantastic, in the face of what has happened in Spain, France, and in half Europe, that here, in the middle of the bloodiest war in history, with Great Britain allied with the Soviet Union, we should refuse to associate with the Communists because they declare that Socialism may have to be fought for!

It is foolish to disguise the real differences which exist between the Labour Party and the Communist Party. It is necessary to recognise those differences, and to understand the reasons for them. It is criminal folly to create artificial ones which can only result in widening the split in our movement. It is wise leadership to seize upon the points of common interest between the two parties in order to heal the split. It seems to me reasonable and logical that we should join hands with those who are striving with full concentrated and unremitting efforts for the same ends—the speedy defeat of Fascism. I was finally persuaded to support this affiliation proposal by observing the actual role of Communists in the present struggle. In the Trade Union movement, I have seen no evidence of their disloyalty. I have seen ample evidence of their earnestness and hard work. I write as the news of the Tunisian victory brings with it great possibilities for the United Nations. The war against Fascism demands unity of the organisations of the British working-class. The problems of peace and reconstruction will demand unity of the working classes of the world. Acceptance of the Communist Party's application for affiliation is a necessary first step in this direction.

W. BOYLE

(of the Assen. of Engineering & Shipbuilding Draughtsmen)

AS a member of a Trade Union which is not affiliated to any political party, I can only give my personal viewpoint in answer to queries regarding the controversy now raging around the question of whether the Labour Party should accept the application of the Communist Party for affiliation.

The issue seems to be whether this influential party of the British labour movement is to be regarded as still untouchable by the major party of that movement. My own Union, although affiliated to the Trades Union Congress, has in the past emphatically protested against the blacklisting of Communist Party members by the Congress "Black Circular." This year our national conference has reinforced its detestation of this discriminating document by calling on the Trades Union Congress to withdraw it as a democratic gesture in fighting a people's war.

I believe that if the Labour Party, in the same spirit, rescinds its previous decision and withdraws the ban on the Communist Party, its prestige with all true democrats will increase tremendously and its leadership of the masses will be secure against splitting mushroom parties. By breaking down the barrier between the two main sections of the labour movement, it would also destroy the division

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which exists in the minds of many trade unionists, who at present hesitate to participate in the wider political effort which is increasingly more difficult to differentiate from their everyday Trade Union activity. In my own Union, for example, where resolutions calling for a ballot on political action will come before a national conference soon, the attitude of many members would, in my opinion, be profoundly affected by the existence of a single united British Labour Party.

T. W. AGAR
(Gen. Sec. Assen. of Supervisory Staffs and Engineering Technicians)

THE arguments in favour of unity have been emphasised so often that it would seem as though little purpose is served by reiterating them. Who were the originators of the present disastrous divisions? Ramsay MacDonald and J. H. Thomas. Should not that be enough for any thinking Socialist?

I have no time to discuss the question of "alleged somersaults," allusions by certain well-known Labour leaders to that splendid democrat Baron Mannerheim still being in my memory. Apart from all this, however, surely nothing would be lost by a joint meeting of representatives of both parties to see whether or not there is any possibility of coming to some understanding. All the dirty linen now being washed, and in particular the flogging of the "Moscow gold bogy," can only lead to disaster, because it plays right into the hands of the enemies of the labour movement.

Youth and the Nation
by MICK BENNETT

AT first this article was going to be called: "Some problems before youth," but that would have been only a partially correct title. The problems certainly do confront youth, and youth itself must fight for a correct solution, but the character of the problems make them the concern of the nation as a whole, and in the first place of the labour movement.

The future of all industries, of education, of the material and moral well-being of the British people, the prospects of advance through victory and labour unity towards a Socialist Britain, all these depend in no small measure upon the attitude of Labour towards the youth problems. Furthermore, upon the attitude to be taken NOW and not at some future more convenient date.

The youth problem is fundamentally: "How are young people to grow from childhood (14 years) to manhood and womanhood (20-21 years)—how are they to develop from responsibilities of society to responsible citizens of society?" In other words, the problem is one of citizenship training.

Those few years of adolescence and youth are the most important socially, for they are the transition years in which the foundations of successful careers or frustrated hopes are laid, the years in which social ideas take shape. A generation passing through this transition can be a great social gain or a terrible tragedy. In Germany it was the latter, in the U.S.S.R. it was the former. These are the two extreme examples of good and evil. In Britain, no thanks to the powers that were, our youth has moved unmistakably to the good side, and great opportunities are opened up for Labour and progress, provided we act now and not let the opportunity pass us by.

British youth gave Fascism the cold shoulder, and retained the spirit of independence and democracy. In the years just prior to the war it was a marked feature that the various left-wing and anti-Fascist meetings, demonstrations and cultural events were full of young people.

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There is also no doubt that such events as the Youth Pilgrimage, Youth Parliament, Youth Hearing, Youth Fitness Conference, and similar activities carried out on a united front basis by several youth organisations, and the Youth Charter Campaign of the British Youth Peace Assembly (a pre-war organisation) played a very big part in influencing large masses of young people along democratic, anti-Fascist lines. If such splendid results could have been achieved with the help of only very small organisations of working-class youth which then existed (Labour League of Youth, Young Communist League, Co-operative Youth), what might have been possible had the Labour Party particularly given full rein and encouragement to a mighty united organisation of Socialist youth? What a help this could have been to the Trades Unions, to the forces of the working-class and to democratic organisations of all kinds, what a greater unity might have been built among young people to win victory and a happy future!

Yet with all the handicaps imposed upon them the young men and women of Britain have managed to play a great, vital part in the people's war of liberation. British youth are excellent material, that is the most outstanding fact. But material can either be made into a beautiful garment or it can rot: it is within the power of Labour to decide.

It must be remembered that for years before the war the lot of British youth was appalling, scandalous: the first duty of Labour is to see that guarantees are given now that will create an altogether different kind of future.

In the past, due to the selfish and anarchic character of Capitalism, only a privileged few, the sons and daughters of the rich, the public school boys and girls, have had a real opportunity, and a place in society. For the masses of boys and girls of working-class parents there existed only an extra intense exploitation. The educational system and school-leaving age was not designed to help boys and girls to make their mark in the world. At fourteen they had to make their own way, aided or handicapped by the immediate economic position of their parents, by the type of local industry and whether there happened to be a capitalist boom or a capitalist slump at the time. The "blind alley" for youth became the main feature of the whole of British industry in the decade before the war.

It is not accidental that to-day, for instance, there is an acute shortage of youth labour in the mining industry. The mining industry was, indeed, undermined by the greedy coal-owners, concerned then only with immediate profits, while the successive governments of Baldwin and Chamberlain refused to lift a finger to intervene on behalf of youth. British skill declined, apprenticeship became only a high-sounding name to cloak a super-exploitation of youth labour. Shop stewards were denied the right to negotiate for apprentices—only when the lads from 1937 onwards discovered their own strength and fighting spirit, and when the Unions began to press the employers, was this position finally ended, so that now apprentices and youths have a large measure of protection by the Trades Unions and workshop organisations.

Working prospects were only part of the trouble. Unemployment was rampant, health standards sunk dangerously low, leisure time facilities for sport and recreation were negligible. Some boys and girls, seeking an individualistic way out, turned to petty crime, and created the problem of juvenile delinquency. The voluntary youth organisations made valiant efforts to improve things within limited spheres, by creating leisure time facilities, continued education, and moral training. These organisations (Scouts, Clubs, Y.M.C.A., etc.) because of the class interests behind them, could not, however, tackle the roots of the problem, but could only alleviate the sufferings. This is not to belittle the efforts of the national and local leaders of these youth organisations and of the many social workers in Britain. The

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country owes them a debt of gratitude for what they did manage to achieve. The labour movement itself hasn't a very proud record on youth affairs, let us frankly admit it. The bureaucratic methods of Transport House can't be applied to youth with any hope of success. The Labour Party League of Youth was killed when still a child and Labour Parties up and down the country are now feeling the pinch.

The Trade Unions haven't been anywhere near flexible enough either, and to-day it is an unusual sight to see a youthful-looking Trade Union branch meeting.

The Communist Party has given every encouragement to young people within its ranks, and it has given much practical help to the development of the Young Communist League, an independent organisation of young men and women, and one of the most active, virile bodies among youth. Even here, however, not all Communists have understood the need, the burning need, for such youth development. Many Communists and militant workers, when it comes to youth, are often as short-sighted as others, but for the Communist Party, as such, it must be said that it alone of all parties has consistently championed the cause of youth.

The war has created new possibilities all round. The very character of this anti-Fascist war is having a profound influence upon the generation now growing up, has created a new, purposeful outlook. Youth is prepared to play its part in the fight for victory. It is organised as never before, it is active as never before, it is studying as never before, it is united in spirit as never before. If there could but be a greater unity of effort in practice, as there could well be through the "Service of Youth," there is no doubt that victory could be speeded on its way.

For youth especially, the problem of "what of the future" is an acute problem. For youth there is no great gap between present and future—in a few years, months even, lads and girls find themselves men and women, and these years and months cannot be wasted. The Young Communist League coined the slogan, or rather, the motto, "Conquer Your Future Now." It sums up the desire to go all out to win the war as the basis, but also sums up the desire to do those things now in the field of education, industry, health, leisure, youth organisation and youth unity which will lay a foundation for a new, better place in society—for the youth of to-day and to-morrow. The term "Conquer" expresses the knowledge that only if youth fights for its place can it expect the rest of society to aid it in its strivings. Youth do not expect anything for nothing, they have little faith in vague promises of "reconstruction," but are prepared to expend any effort that will guarantee a bright, happy future.

Now is the time for Labour to make clear its programme and policy for British youth on all these questions. Now is the time for Labour to take a hand in organising youth to strive for its future. Not the least of benefits which would derive from Communist affiliation to the Labour Party would be the possibility of a great Labour Youth Crusade, to bring vast new reserves to Labour's cause, to rejuvenate and invigorate the whole labour movement, to hold out before youth the glorious adventure of fighting for a socialist Britain, the most noble material and moral purpose which youth could possess. Woe betide Labour if youth are neglected!

There is a realisation on all sides that youth to-day is active and alert, and determined to wipe out Fascism in order to win a future. This realisation is quite clearly expressed by the Standing Conference of National Juvenile Organisations in their Memorandum on "Partnership in the Service of Youth":—

The war has provided a purpose for the whole community, and has evoked a desire on the part of the majority of young people for partnership in the common effort. When hostilities cease this influence will be removed and unless some unifying moral purpose takes its place the same speedy relapse may well occur as after the last war.

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We do not believe that an abstract moral purpose, whether religious or otherwise, can be effective in helping youth to a further stage in its endeavours. The moral purpose must arise from the real life of youth and of the world at large. The waging of the war is both material and moral; nothing at the moment is more moral and noble than to hate Fascist barbarism, and to love freedom.

There is, and will be, nothing unmoral or immoral about fighting for a place in society for youth, for great changes in industry and education.

There is no reason why the unity of purpose now so strong among youth cannot be made even stronger at once by developing the Service of Youth into a great, all-inclusive public institution, open to all youth organisations irrespective of politics or religion, and available for all young people whether organised or not. It is because of its over-riding importance, whether in war or peace, that we stress so much the question of unity.

A great and growing section of the community, especially the youth community, is represented by political youth organisations, such as the Young Communist League. At present we are barred from playing our full part by the stupid ruling of Mr. Butler, President of the Board of Education, which puts us "beyond the pale." We seriously warn all interested in youths well-being that the Service of Youth will fail in its main objects if this ban is not speedily removed. Enough of this inquisition against political youth—they showed the way to unity before the war, they lead the way now and they will fight for the unity of all youth in the common endeavour.

These are some of the things that will be discussed by the Young Communist League at its National Congress at Whitsun. It will adopt a programme and policy for youth which it will lay before the labour movement and the nation. It will hold out its hand to all democratic youth organisations, it will appeal to all working men and women to help in every way so that youth may Conquer the Future Now.

Anti-Semitism

by JOHN GOLLAN

"ANTI-SEMITISM is the characteristic sign of a backward civilisation . . ." wrote Frederick Engels in a letter on April 19, 1890. Throughout the history of the modern working-class movement it has been used wherever the forces of stark reaction wanted to perpetrate their rule or make a new bid for power, distracting attention from the real enemy to an imaginary one. Wherever there has been Jew-baiting, sooner or later it has been the working-class movement which has had to pay the price. Any movement fomenting or making a feature of mass race hatred is full of deadly danger, above all for the organised working-class movement.

Mass violence against the Jewish population was a characteristic of Tsarist Russia, the backward reactionary prison-house of nations. "The capitalists stir up enmity against the Jews," wrote Lenin, "in order to divert attention of the workers from the real enemy of the working masses, capital." (*The Pogroms against the Jews.*)

During their struggle for power the Fascists in Germany, in their attempts to divide the advancing working-class movement, went far beyond anything done in Tsarist Russia. The forces of German monopoly capitalism financed Hitler and the Nazi Party; and the Jew-baiting programme of Hitler was one of the forms which cloaked the real aims, attack on the working class and all democratic forces in preparation for war and world domination. As Hitler himself stated to Dr. Rauschning:—

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"My Jews are a valuable hostage given to me by the democracies. Anti-Semitic propaganda in all countries is an indispensable medium for the extension of any political campaign. You will see how little time we shall need in order to upset the ideas and criteria of the whole world—simply and purely by attacking Judaism. It is without doubt the most powerful weapon in my political arsenal."
—(*The Voice of Destruction.*)

Edgar Mowrer, in *Germany Puts the Clock Back*, shows how powerfully and cynically Fascism exploited anti-Semitism in its march to power. There are many millions of German workers to-day who will regret to their dying day that they were ever taken in by anti-Jewish propaganda.

The Fascist parties of Europe, co-ordinated and financed by German Fascism and used as its Fifth Column for the conquest of Europe, have all used this vile weapon—the Rexists in Belgium, the Dutch Fascists, the Roumanian Iron Guard, the Quisling party in Norway, the Croix de Feu and Cagoulards in France. And to-day in Vichy France, Marshal Petain uses the weapon of his Berlin master. The anti-Semitic and pro-Hitler policy of the British Union of Fascists was met and defeated by the united resistance of the working class. The internment of the Fascist leaders in the first year of the war brought a temporary cessation of anti-Semitism. To-day, however, we see a recrudescence of these ominous activities and tendencies, and the reasons are not difficult to find.

Fascism has recently received tremendous blows. The Russian winter counter-offensive brought its armies to the verge of a disaster which was only averted by the absence of a Second Front in Europe. The powerful pro-Fascist forces in Britain are doing their utmost to preserve reaction in Europe, hold up a Second Front and destroy the possibilities of the people's movement in France, Czechoslovakia and the countries of Europe. Seeking to preserve reaction abroad, they do all in their power to preserve reaction and privilege at home. Their aim is to force Labour out of the Government, establish a Government of the extreme Right and bring about a compromise peace with Hitler. Behind this dangerous and concerted attack of pro-Fascists, British reaction and class privilege, the open Fascists and professional Jew-baiters have come out into the open and have commenced to revive anti-Jewish propaganda. The object is clear. To arouse race hatred, sow the seeds of public discord, turn public hatred against the imaginary Jewish enemy while preparing for appeasement with the real enemy—Hitler.

The Fascist gangster elements have made the running for their reactionary masters with their pro-Hitler, anti-Semitic campaign. And no small contributory factor has been the leniency and toleration shown by the Government and the Home Office. At January 1, 1941, 1,089 people were detained under 18B. A year later there were only 486. The ex-B.U.F. elements and others set up new organisations as a legal rallying centre. Their activities are directed along four main lines:—

(*a*) The release of Mosley, the supporters of Admiral Domville and the pro-German Link and the 18B detainees. They have had some success in getting public support for this. In the name of freedom of the individual Sir Thomas Moore, on March 11, urged the release of all the remaining 18B'ers on grounds that the number was so small the police could keep an eye on them! An 18B Detainees Revision Committee is formed. Sir Irving Albery, M.P., Kenneth Pickthorn, M.P., both Tories, consistently raise the matter in Parliament. Public meetings are organised: 500 attended a recent meeting, reminiscent of Mosley, with shouts of "Perish Judah" and attacks on the U.S.S.R. . . . Bernard Acworth was the main speaker.

(*b*) To the forefront were the activities of the so-called British National Party. Main lines of this "Party" were explained in the *Hayes News* of March 12 by Mr. Godfrey, its "Leader," who stated that he

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wants Mosley out of prison, considers a democratic Government is unnecessary, wants a negotiated peace with Hitler and the expulsion of all Jews from Britain. There's plenty of money and piles of literature. A reading list by this organisation recommends the writings of the Duke of Bedford.

(*c*) Great increase in anti-Semitic slogans and chalking, particularly "It's a Jewish war"; a flood of letters to the press (e.g., *Manchester Daily Despatch*, Saturday, February 6). One columnist records that he had received "more obscene and fanatically anti-Jewish letters in the past month or two than ever before." Whispering campaigns in the factories, stickybacks and legally and illegally printed leaflets. Last month there appeared in London a new chalking: "12,000 Poles murdered by Jewish Communism!"

(*d*) Open attacks—viz., the Lenin Memorial defaced, Churchill poster tarred, Russian Shop of Trades Council, Glasgow, defaced.

With the recrudescence of these activities the answer of the working class movement has been immediate. In 350 resolutions working class organisations, including the London Trades Council, have called for action against anti-Semitism and pro-Fascist activity. Stepney Borough Council passed a resolution calling on the Government to introduce without delay legislation to make anti-Semitism a criminal offence. Somewhat similar resolutions have been passed by the Finsbury Borough Council, the Hayes U.D.C. and the Rhondda U.D.C., while the Hackney Borough Council has held a Town's Meeting. Finally, the delegate conference (April 17) of the National Council for Civil Liberties passed a resolution calling for Government action to make the spreading of anti-Semitic and Fascist propaganda a crime. The mass activity was sufficiently strong to get the B.N.P Stoll Rally of February 23—Red Army Day—cancelled. This was demanded in a manifesto signed by many trade unions, Labour people, including the Mayors of Finsbury, Bermondsey, West Ham, W. S. Edwards, Labour M.P. for Whitechapel, D. N. Pritt, K.C., M.P., and Lord Wedgwood. The call also demanded the banning of the B.N.P.*

The fact that the recrudescence of anti-Semitism is found also in Scotland, where there are so few Jews, is evidence of an underground campaign, directed from Fascist sources.

In Scotland there has never been an organised anti-Semitic movement. While only 15,000 Jews in Glasgow, there are a quarter of a million Catholics, many of Irish descent. It is no accident that what anti-Semitic propaganda there is being done should come from Alexander Ratcliffe of the Protestant League, publisher of the *Vanguard*, which contains advertisements for the Duke of Bedford and Strickland Press publications. This man's efforts for years were directed to fostering intense antagonism between Protestant and Catholic workers, using the most backward and poisonous arguments. There was talk about the splitting of the Trade Unions and the formation of Protestant Trade Unions. The solidarity of the Scottish workers smashed this reactionary attempt, routed the diversionists. Defeated in this attempt to exploit Scotland's "minority" Irish problem, this Ratcliffe now comes out in his true colours, anti-Soviet and Hitler apologist. His pamphlet, *Why This War Came*, declares that Hitler was innocent, the war is a conspiracy between Britain and the Bolsheviks. *Truth About Religion in Germany*, November, 1942, presents Hitler as the defender of the Christian faith, Neimoller is ignored and Protestant Germany is the bulwark against Godless Communism. Hitler had to strike first because Churchill was conspiring to make Russia attack Germany, etc. Now his latest effort is

* In mid-April the British National Party, through the lips of Mr. Godfrey, announced that it had dissolved itself; but that a new organisation would be formed with a programme less openly similar to that of the banned B.U.F.

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The Truth About the Jews. The Jews are accused of every crime, every anti-Semitic prejudice is raked up and the pamphlet ends with two quotations from Hitler about Jewish finance and the extermination of the Jews. The fact that such a pamphlet can be published in an area so unfavourable to anti-Semitism (there are only fifty Jews in Aberdeen!) is an indication of mischief afoot.

Anti-Semitism deliberately seeks to arouse the latent anti-Jewish prejudices which exist among so many backward elements. In combating anti-Semitism it is necessary to deal with these prejudices. The most common of these is that the Jews control this country, make up the directorates of the banks and hold big industry in their grasp. There is no truth in this—as is shown in William Gallacher's splendid pamphlet just issued.

There is not a single Jew amongst the Directors of the Bank of England and out of 150 Directors of the Big Five banks only three are Jews. Of the thirty members of the Stock Exchange Committee in London only one is a Jew, and Jewish firms of importance are few and far between. Our capitalist controllers are Gentiles.

This baseless allegation of Jewish control of the country is almost comic when we consider Scotland, a land of heavy industries.

The key men are Sir James Lithgow, John Craig, R. L. Angus, Carlo Reid, Wm. Thompson, Rebbeck, Yarrow, Piggot—none are Jews.

Three great groups control 75 per cent. of the British press—the Associated Newspapers Limited (Lord Rothermere), Allied Newspapers Limited (Lord Camrose) and Provincial Newspapers Limited. The Times Publishing Company is controlled by Lord Astor, and Lord Beaverbrook controls the *Daily Express*. The only newspaper group with a Jewish chairman is Odhams Press, with Lord Southwood.

In the 1938 Parliament of 615 members, only 20 were Jews, and of the 300 Privy Councillors of the State only 5 were Jews. Yet another strong prejudice is that the Jews dodge military service. What are the facts? In the last war 50,000 Jews served in the Forces, of which 86 per cent. were in fighting units. This represented 12 per cent. of the Jewish men eligible for service. Eighteen per cent. of Jews in fighting units were killed or wounded, and the total number of honours awarded to Jews was 1,596, including five Victoria Crosses. In this war, British Jews in the services at the end of 1942 numbered over 40,000. This is 11½ per cent. of the Jewish population, a higher proportion than that of the general population. Up to the end of 1941 fifty-six different decorations had been awarded to Jewish fighters.

One of the most persistent prejudices in Scottish factories among some elements is that "There are no poor Jews—you never see them working with their hands." This talk might seem queer to those with knowledge of the great Jewish proletarian centres of East London, Manchester and Leeds, where tens of thousands of Jewish workers were sweated in the tailoring and furnishing industries impartially against Jewish and Gentile capitalist employers and only by strong Trade Union organisation (covering united Jew and non-Jewish workers) and innumerable labour struggles have conditions in these industries been advanced. When it is realised, however, that the combined Jewish population, working class and middle class, men, women and children, in the four Scottish cities is only 16,667 (Glasgow 15,000, Edinburgh 1,500, Dundee 117, Aberdeen 50), the basis for this prejudice becomes a little clearer. The war, with the concentration of industry, has resulted in the small proportion of Jewish workers going into the engineering shops and shipyards as dilutees, machine hands, inspectors, etc. . . . They are obviously not craftsmen, although with the conditions of the Clyde

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sometimes these dilutee workers earn as much and more than a craftsman, the basis for anti-Semitic prejudice here is clear. If a Gentile, the dilutee is complained about as a dilutee, but if a Jew, he is not a dilutee, but a Jew!

A key point in Ratcliffe's pamphlet and a favourite vicious slander of the Jew-baiters is that the Jews are responsible for the Black Market. There is not the slightest substance in these allegations. Of course, there are Jews in the Black Market, just as there are Gentiles. Jewish workers, along with Gentile workers, suffer from their operations and unite with non-Jews in calling for the punishment of all profiteers and Black Marketeers. Whether Jew or non-Jew, these criminals are individuals and despite the false impression created by certain newspapers, there is not the slightest evidence to show the proportion of Jews is higher than non-Jews.

These anti-Jewish prejudices amongst the ignorant and unthinking are seized upon by the professional Jew-baiter and Fascist disrupter who deliberately ignores the fact that modern capitalist economy divides British Jewry into capitalist, middle class and working class, as it divides the British population as a whole. There are bad Jews, as there are bad Gentiles. There are exploiting Jews, as there are exploiting Gentiles. And just as the workers form the vast majority of the British people as a whole, so the vast majority of Jews are workers, with the same problems as all other workers.

Dispelling anti-Jewish prejudice is a necessary but comparatively unimportant step. What is more important is to realise the reasons why anti-Semitism is being fostered in Britain to-day at this stage of the war, to expose, fight and defeat the sinister forces behind the noisy gangster elements.

To-day, at this critical stage of the war when the offensive must become the order of the day, national unity must not only be protected against all disruptive elements. It must be extended, strengthened and made more real. Whatever their race, colour or creed, Jew and non-Jew, the people must be solidly united into a mighty force which can organise the will and sacrifice which alone can bring victory over Fascism. This the pro-Fascists understand. This is the reason for their foul anti-Semitic propaganda. They want to sow the seeds of discord, split and disunite the people by inflaming hatred against an imaginary enemy as a prelude to doing a deal with the real enemy.

The British working class have most to lose in this war. They, above all, must take the lead in smashing the sinister reactionary forces behind the vile anti-Jewish propaganda. The demand of the London workers' organisations, the London borough councils, the National Council of Civil Liberties, must be supported by the entire working-class movement. Government leniency must give way to firm action which will make the encouragement of anti-Semitism for political ends a criminal offence and place all conducting pro-Fascist activity under lock and key.

But we should deal also with the pro-Fascist Munich elements who must be driven from the Government and high office and their places taken by trusted representatives of the labour movement. Any sabotage of the Anglo-Soviet Alliance, any attempts to serve reaction in Europe by a compromise peace with Hitler, must be met by a united mass movement, which will force open the Second Front, unleash the forces of the European people and pave the way for victory.

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First catch your Hare

by NORBERT HÖLZ

CAN one imagine the following grotesque scene:—

The breadwinner of a family comes home from his work one evening very ill. His wife, two grown-up sons and his brothers and sisters gather around the sick man. They don't pack him off to bed, nor even send him to a doctor, but tell him at great length how fine it will be, when he is well again, to be able to make a mountain tour. Scarcely have the words "mountain tour" been spoken, when lengthy discussions break out among those surrounding the sick man. His wife thinks he should climb the Erzebirge Mountains, one son pleads for the Harz Mountains, the second son is for the Matterhorn and one of the brothers demands the ascent of the Himalayas. Meanwhile the temperature of the invalid rises and his strength declines rapidly, but his relations continue to discuss the advantages of this or that mountain range. Such a scene is quite unthinkable among normal people. They will immediately pack the sick man to bed, they will call a doctor, they will fetch medicines, they will nurse and care for the invalid and not chatter about which mountain he should climb *after* his recovery.

To the regret of all friends of the peoples and of freedom, there are now influential circles of the United Nations who are behaving in just such a grotesque way as the relatives in the scene described above as impossible. In all occupied countries and territories inconceivable things are happening. The shooting of hostages goes on incessantly. The native population of the occupied countries is deported to forced labour, the wealth of the countries and their inhabitants is "organised"; the people's rights are mocked; prisons and concentration camps are full to bursting with captured patriots, wages are low, rations incredibly meagre, working hours long, diseases spread, the people are bled daily. But numerous authoritative persons of the United Nations describe the glorious future in store for those who are now bleeding. And over this future, negotiations, promises, discussions, press polemics, diplomatic conferences are carried on. The peoples are bleeding—but those in authority picture for them the grandeur of the Himalayas.

Indeed, what game is being played? Are the gentlemen so shortsighted that they do not perceive the sad present and fling themselves into the future, which they paint, each according to his temperament, in iridescent colours? True, many will retort, but the United Nations must have some kind of a "programme" which is to be fought for? It is indisputable that men and peoples must know what they are fighting and making sacrifices for. But it is also indisputable that the United Nations possess such a common programme, a banner around which all can gather. J. V. Stalin, in his speech of November 6 last, has clothed it in words within the comprehension of all. He said:—

The programme of action of the British-Soviet-American coalition is: The destruction of racial exclusiveness; the equality of nations and the integrity of their territories; the liberation of the enslaved nations and the restoration of their sovereign rights; the right of every nation to arrange its affairs as it wishes; economic aid to the nations that have suffered and assistance to them in attaining their material welfare; the restoration of democratic liberties; the destruction of the Hitlerite regime.

This is a programme of action easily understood, acceptable to every friend of the peoples, to every adherent of peace and freedom. There must not be any privileged "races" which, by virtue of some kind of mystic "blood" and fictitious "superior worth," claim the "leadership," *i.e.*, the domination, of other peoples, whether of Europe or even of the whole world. *All* nations must have equal rights: there are no pampered nations, "mother's darlings," among the nations which demand extra rights—additional rights at the expense of foreign nations. The territories of all nations are inviolable, no one has the right to declare that the territory of this or that nation lies in his "sphere of influence," belongs to his "living space." The oppressed peoples must be set free, they must be reinstated in their sovereign rights. Austrians must dispose of Austria; Czechoslovaks of

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Czechoslovakia; Poles of Poland; Norwegians of Norway; Frenchmen of France. No foreign state has the right to rob them of their sovereignty. Each nation has the right to choose its own government, its own social and economic order. No one has the right to force a form of society on any nation, as long as the order prevailing in the country conforms to the usual laws of humanity and civilisation and does not turn it into a slave camp. One cannot and must not impose on any people at the point of the bayonet a social system hated or unwished by them. In democratic freedom, with complete freedom of choice, the people themselves must vote for whatever form of government and society they favour. In a democracy each stratum of society has the unrestricted right to canvass its own views and convictions, to defend its interests and to take part in discussing the affairs of the entire nation and to take part, in accordance with the social forces standing behind it, in deciding them. It follows also that the labour movement must have the fullest freedom. It must not be allowed that workers' parties are dissolved, their newspapers forbidden and their officials persecuted and imprisoned because they represent and defend the interests of the working masses of the nation.

This programme of action developed by Stalin in complete harmony with the Atlantic Charter is flawless and realistic, it makes a heartfelt appeal to the peoples, it does not lose itself in Cloud Cuckoo Land, it builds no castle in the air. It is not the task of the statesmen of the United Nations to busy themselves as prophets and to formulate the future, paragraph by paragraph, going into all details, and thus in the last resort narrowing it down.

The future conceals so many unknown factors that no statesman conscious of his responsibility, no mortal man, can simply foresee and determine it in all its details.

Let us assume the case that the Italians rise and force Italy out of the war against the will of the then rulers of Italy. Is it not clear that the conditions of peace assured them in such a case would turn out to be quite other than if they do not find the strength in themselves to force the ending of the war or if, in the case of their country being occupied, the great majority of them fight for the maintenance of Fascism. The details of a *just* peace—and the United Nations will only conclude a just peace—will take form according to the concrete situation. This concrete situation no one can determine in advance.

Many programmes of the future concern the nature of the situation within the anti-Hitler *bloc* itself. Propaganda is being made for federations or regional pacts. The meaning of these pacts which are being planned is not quite evident. What is to be achieved by these alliances? Are they directed against a rising Germany? We have already experienced such alliances, as, for example, the Little Entente, which in time of need, however, do not function because the internal regimes of many of the countries belonging to the Little Entente were so reactionary that they favoured Fascism. Rumania, which belonged to the Little Entente, did not hasten to the help of Czechoslovakia, neither did Jugoslavia. In both countries at that time pro-Fascist representatives were in power, who furthered the assault of Fascism in the hope that it would be directed primarily and exclusively against the Soviet Union. Who will guarantee that such an organisation will be more durable in the future? It is clear that the problem must be tackled differently. After the victory of the United Nations the most important task will be to help a democratic Germany to secure its internal regime against all reactionary attempts from within, and thereby eliminate the elements of aggression from public life. Further, the United Nations must themselves take care that their public life really functions in a democratic spirit. A democratic Europe will be in a position to eliminate many subjects of conflict, and perhaps to solve in a friendly way any difficulties which may arise. What would be the value of an alliance between Czechoslovakia and Poland—for example, if there is no success in democratising Poland from top to bottom and eliminating every influence of reactionary circles? The problem above all, in all countries and internationally, is to increase the power of solidarity, to strengthen the spirit of collective security and establish it in power, to deepen and deve-

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lop democracy. The United Nations as a whole will protect peace.

Or are these federations, these plans for Pan-Europa, intended as a "barrier" against the Soviet Union? Politics between the two world wars was full of such barrier-building. It came to no good end, it rushes Europe into the heaviest crisis of its existence. No peaceful future is imaginable if the Soviet Union is excluded.

In many plans for the future one can distinguish unfriendliness towards the labour movement. Democracy is to be so interpreted that the labour movement after the war is to have no right to make propaganda for its aims to which it holds fast, to work for them, to fight for the realisation of its ideals and to gather the masses under the flag of these ideals. Antitheses are set up between democracy and Marxism, between democracy and Socialism. Everyone who has really studied Marxism knows that it strives, not for the destruction of democracy, but its perfection. If it is actually the purpose of these efforts to treat the workers after the war once again as second-rate citizens, if they are actually to be hindered from forming and rebuilding their parties and organisations according to their own will, then that means, in the last resort, that the United Nations will not have conquered, but that Fascism, in spite of its downfall, will have achieved the victory over democracy. The workers, with their bodies, protect the freedom of the nation, they sacrifice their life and their health for the independence of the nation, they renounced temporarily many rights they had earned, in order to stand by the nation whose backbone they are. Is the reward for these sacrifices to be that plans are being made to rob the working class of its independence? Is the reward for all the hardships, for all the overtime, for all the sacrifices that the workers are heroically bearing, to be that after victory they are to be put in leading-strings and their movement insulted? We do not wish to believe that the responsible statesmen of the United Nations have such infamous plans, but it is indisputable that among many utterances of the press dissonances can be heard which are not adapted to stimulate the fighting spirit of the masses.

The post-war period will certainly give the peoples many problems to solve, there will be many hard nuts to crack, but all these tasks are childishly easy in comparison with the *one* task of defeating aggression. Every illusion about an easy victory, every self-deception about the strength of the enemy, every cheap consolation, every assumption that victory is already as good as won, can have fatal consequences.

In all occupied countries feverish work is being done for the Axis. Seventy million Germans are all being made to work for the war. Statistical enquiries, clever calculations, do not help at all. The reality is that the Axis is actually waging total war, and is waging it in the *present*!

It is characteristic that neither in the Soviet Union, which is carrying out its duty in the present, nor in Jugoslavia, whose partisans and voluntary armies are carrying on a superhuman, heroic struggle against superior forces, is much spoken about the future. There they know that the shape of the future depends on what is being done now, that the way to victory does not lead through elegant, elaborately planned federations, but only through struggle. Where little fighting is going on, great activity is developing around the Himalaya-future.

The fights of the present day, the question of unity of the labour movement, the question of the defence of the democratic rights of the masses, the fight against Fascism in all its variations, are so complicated, so manifold, so powerful, that they claim the whole strength of the peoples. Every splitting of forces, every avoidance of battle, every form of concession is grist to the mill of the Fascists. The present-day battles are of a world-wide character, they demand the use of the entire strength, the entire attention. A man does not lose himself in petty details by exerting all his strength in this battle of the peoples, in this struggle for the existence of civilisation, in order to aid humanity to victory. Even in smaller struggles one must not fix one's gaze upon the future and let the present flow by unused.

The peoples to-day want only *one thing*, struggle—decisive, resolute, uncompromising struggle, with no looking back. But many circles recommend them to wait. In France the people's organisa-

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tion call to resistance, but from the other side attempts are made to damp down their fighting spirit. There are Polish circles which recommend delay. There is also delay in the opening of the Second Front. Many even say that the longer the pressure of occupation lasts, the stronger will be the impulse of the peoples of these countries towards liberation and the more resolute they will be in a *later* battle. That, however, is mechanical thinking. Excessive suffering has often a disintegrative influence. Pressure begets counter-pressure, but it may happen that the pressure becomes so overpowering that it paralyses all the active forces. Fascism will never, never succeed in weakening the strength of the peoples so far that they give up their resistance, but it is permissible to speculate on an increase of suffering strengthening the impulse of the masses to revolt. Strike while the iron is hot is valid also in politics, is valid also for the fight of the masses. If the French are glowing with warlike spirit, but all they are told is to wait and again to wait, the iron cools off. Inactivity does not steel the masses. Passivity begets passivity. Disappointments produce the symptoms of paralysis. It is not a fact that one only has to press the button each time and the masses obey. If favourable opportunities are missed, much may be lost. Is that the wish of many preachers of the future? Do many consciously wish to save Fascism? Do they want the fight to be so long drawn out that the peoples are seized by weariness and the moment is "favourable" for a compromise peace, at the cost of the people's freedom and the freedom of the labour movement? Are they planning, those who frustrate labour unity, a conspiracy against the world labour movement? Are *de Mans* at work in many lands, who see their "mission" in never allowing the working class to recover from its defeat? Once more, what game is going on?

It is the duty of the masses to be on guard. The origin of the catastrophe which has befallen all the people and the labour movement lay in the splitting of the working class. He who continues to split the workers sins against the workers and against the entire nation. The position of the workers and all the people would be quite different to-day if the united front of the workers had been concluded at the right time. The position of the Spanish workers would be quite different to-day if the Besteiros had not succeeded, in their hour of greatest danger, in breaking the unity of the workers and the masses of the people. The same holds for France and other lands.

The present demands its due and this is: An end to all fruitless, useless debates about the future; fight and yet again fight; unity of the workers and of all the popular masses in the fight for a free existence of the peoples!

The Need for Amalgamation

by WAL HANNINGTON

THE history of the Amalgamated Engineering Union is clearly traceable to the period of the repeal of the Combination Acts in 1825. Prior to that, there is no evidence of any national union of engineers. There did exist numerous local and district unions with a very small membership, but no system of co-ordination between them. The first national union of engineers was the "Friendly Society of Journeymen Steam-Engine and Machine Makers and Millwrights." It was founded in 1826 and the A.E.U. is its direct lineal descendant.

Other smaller national unions, and a host of local unions, were formed between 1826 and 1840: inter-union rivalry became acute, resulting in a serious weakening of the workers' front against the growing strength of the engineering employers. It was the above-mentioned Society which led a campaign for unity between these unions, became the parent of amalgamation in the 1840 period, and brought about a considerable advance both in trade union organisation and in the working conditions of engineers. It created a model constitution which became a guide to many unions in other trades.

Its efforts for unity led to the formation of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers

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in 1851. The A.S.E. then became the parent of the A.E.U. by the amalgamation with seven other unions in 1920. In 1926 the A.E.U. broadened its basis to admit all male engineering workers, skilled and unskilled, to membership.

This was a big step in the direction of the A.E.U. becoming a complete industrial organisation, but it still fell short of that objective. By the evolution in the productive processes of the industry and the necessities of the war, women, on a vast scale, became established as engineering workers, and in January, 1943, the A.E.U. opened its ranks to the women and thereby became a complete industrial union.

But there is something more to be done. We have yet to create one union for the whole industry. There are still twenty-six unions catering for engineering workers, which means twenty-six executives that must reach separate agreement before we can get common agreement on national questions of wages and working conditions.

It is true that we have the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions and the National Engineering Joint Trades Movement, but this can only be regarded as an arrangement which is made necessary by the very fact that we are divided into numerous unions. It cannot be accepted as a satisfactory alternative to complete unity. Joint shop stewards' committees in the factories, representatives of the various unions, is a necessary step to national unity.

There is much evidence, especially during the years of depression between 1920 and 1939, which shows how the employers, united in the "Engineering and Allied Employers National Federation," have taken advantage on numerous occasions of the divided counsels of the many unions catering for engineering and shipbuilding workers. Especially has this been so in regard to wage claims. I have personally experienced it on occasions in works conferences with employers.

In the 1922 lockout the Employers' Federation dealt with the unions piecemeal in spite of our outward appearance of co-ordination. The lockout notices were applied to A.E.U. members first and then some time later in the struggle, were extended to members of other unions. In the eleventh week of the lockout the employers succeeded in breaking the workers' front by inducing all the unions with the exception of the A.E.U. to accept their terms and return to work, leaving the A.E.U. to fight on alone until the thirteenth week.

Between July, 1921, and September, 1922, the employers imposed wage reductions on the engineer amounting to 32s. 11d. per week, which reduced the wage of the highest rated district (London) from £4 13s. 10d. to £3 0s. 11d. The provinces came as low as £2 15s.

We did not succeed in tipping the scale the other way until 1927, and I well remember the disunity which existed between the unions at that time on the amount of the claim. Sir Allan Smith, then President of the Employers' Federation, actually chided the unions on the need for them making up their own minds on what they wanted before proceeding with their claims.

The constant demand of the A.E.U. and the other unions for a restoration of the wage standard has resulted in the following increases:—

July, 1927 ...	2/-	by Agreement with Employers' Federation
May, 1935 ...	1/-	
July, 1935 ...	1/-	
June, 1936 ...	1/-	
September, 1936	1/-	
December, 1936	1/-	
August, 1937	1/6	
November, 1937	1/6	
June, 1939 ...	2/-	
February, 1940	5/-	
January, 1941	3/6	
December, 1941	5/-	National Arbitration Tribunal Board
March, 1943...	6/-	

These increases to the time-worker total £1 11s. 6d., which still leaves us 1s. 5d. per week short of the 1921 standard. For the piece-worker, who did not receive the 2s. of 1927 or the 6s. of 1943, the present rate falls short of 1921 by 9s. 5d. per week.

We can see from the above figures that it has taken us over *twenty years* to come near to restoring the standard which the employers smashed down in *one year*. It is conclusive evidence of how ill-informed and foolish are those persons who remark that the unions are continually making extravagant claims.

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But it also presents a lesson to us, namely, that we need to strengthen our union organisation in order to more effectively defend our conditions before the organised power of the employers. That means a drive for 100 per cent. unionism and a higher development of single-mindedness and unity by amalgamation towards one great union for all workers in our trade. Special grades of workers who are to-day organised in separate Unions need not feel that their grade interests will be lost in the wider organisation. If necessary, provision could be made for that in the structure of the new amalgamation.

The time is ripe for another big campaign for amalgamation, but this cannot be successful unless it comes from below; from amongst the membership, not only the officials. Before amalgamation can take place, the membership of the unions must express agreement by ballot vote. To obtain support for that, discussions on the subject should be started now. As the A.E.U. is the most powerful and influential union, its members should take the lead in this campaign for still greater unity by making amalgamation the subject of discussion throughout the factories and in the union branches.

The engineering unions are to-day playing a very important part in improving production of munitions through the work of the Joint Production Committees. I believe that greater unity, achieved by amalgamation, would remove many of the long-standing barriers of craft demarcation which still exist between various categories of workers belonging to different unions. It would considerably strengthen our common war effort for a speedy defeat of the Fascist enemy and would make us stronger to face the difficult problems which will arise in the transition from war to peace.

A Debt to Pay

by PETER KERRIGAN

TUNIS and Bizerta have been taken, and as this article is being written the remnants of the Fascist armies of Hitler and Mussolini are either streaming in as prisoners or being remorselessly driven to the sea.

This moment of splendid victory is a fitting time to urge that it should be crowned by a complete break with the past. How could the break be better symbolised than by granting freedom to all International Brigades and Spanish Republicans still held in concentration camps or prisons in North Africa? Some progress has already been made in this direction, but there are still interned about 250 Brigaders and about 2,000 Spanish Republicans. With the triumph of the forces of the United Nations in North Africa there does not remain a single argument, of expediency or otherwise, against giving these men their freedom. On the contrary, we shall strengthen our cause by acting with speed in this matter.

Due in the main to the untiring efforts of the International Brigade Association in Britain there is a growing recognition among the organised workers and the people generally of our duty towards these first fighters against Fascism in Europe. This applies not only to the men in North Africa but to those in Spain; and to the much larger number of International Brigaders and Spaniards in France.

The extent of unity and solidarity with these men can be gauged by one or two facts. When we first learned of the action to extradite from France Liugi Longo Gallo, Inspector General of the Brigades, and Hans Dahlem, Reichstag Deputy and leading German member of the Brigades, France had not yet been totally occupied by the Germans. An appeal was made to President Roosevelt, as America was the only great power that had relations with Vichy. *That appeal was signed by* 40 *Peers*, 98 *M.Ps.*, 90 *other prominent people and* 135 *General Secretaries of Trade Unions.* Unfortunately, the Germans occupied all France and Gallo was handed over. This time an appeal, supported by, among others, five Church of England bishops, was made direct to His Holiness the Pope. The Vatican authorities did intervene, and while the final result is not yet known, it is believed that Gallo is still alive.

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At the recent London Conference of the International Brigade Association, ministers of five allied governments supported the Conference. Dr. Kullman, Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees under the League of Nations, participated in the work of the Conference as well as a number of M.Ps. from Britain, France and Belgium. Speaking at the Conference on behalf of the Miners Federation of Great Britain, M. T. Moore gave the assurance: "Whatever support may be asked of the Miners Federation for the International Brigade Association, that support will be given"; and in fact the miners have given splendid support to the International Brigade. At its Conference at the end of May the Scottish Trade Union Congress unanimously passed a resolution calling for the ending of the anomalies in North Africa and the mover devoted his remarks to the plight of the International Brigaders and Spanish Republicans there.

Now the Transport and General Workers Union is officially sponsoring a resolution for the Labour Party Conference at Whitsuntide, directing attention to the plight of the International Brigaders in the camps of Spain and on French territory. With this support from the working-class movement the last International Brigader should soon be freed in North Africa.

But it is vital that those who are still left in Spanish territory be also released. Franco's Government is prepared to release those who can get visas. Some have already been freed. If, as a result of the North African victories, Hitler moves into Spain, these men who are left are doomed. Speed is essential. It is also necessary in respect to North Africa that we should demand the unconditional release of all Spanish Republican prisoners there. These men are our allies. They, like the International Brigaders, set an example in heroism that we should recognise by giving them their immediate freedom, with the choice of either joining the allied forces or deciding how they could otherwise serve the cause of freedom.

We need also to keep constantly in mind the fact that five hundred International Brigaders in Camp Vernet and 20,000 Spanish Republicans in labour companies in the South of France must be going through hell at this moment.

Only now is a realisation growing in Britain of the absolutely priceless *cadres* that the International Brigaders represent. Recently Sergeant Tommy Maguire was killed in Tunisia, where he was fighting in the Paratroops. Tommy went to Spain when he was nineteen years of age. Fighting with the same fearlessness he displayed in Spain, he has died in the successful battles to oust the Fascists from North Africa. There are others like him nearer home. A striking demonstration was given of the quality of the British Brigaders when the results of the passing out of a thousand cadets for the British Army were announced recently. Bill Alexander, former commander of the British Battalion, headed the list and won the Belt of Honour. Roddy McFarquhar, of the International Brigade, was third. That is something to be proud of.

Yet there is another side to the medal. Other *cadres* are not being utilised as they ought. Corporal Rosenfield, transferred to a holding unit; neither Bob Cooney's nor Jack Coward's qualities being used effectively; Malcolm Dunbar, chief of staff of the 15th Brigade, still a sergeant; the recent discharge from the army of Ted Edwards.

Enough has been said to show what type of men these International Brigaders and Republicans are, whether in Britain, Africa, Spain or France.

Our Association appeals to the British labour movement to discharge its debt to these heroes by demanding the following:—

1. The unconditional release of the remaining International Brigaders and Spanish Republicans in North Africa should be speeded up.

2. To save the anti-Fascists in Spain, clearing centres should be immediately set up in North Africa to which they could be sent for further investigation.

3. The Protecting Power (Switzerland) should be approached by our Government to look after the interests of International Brigaders and *Spanish Republicans in France.*

4. Facilities should be granted for the distribution of relief in Spain and North Africa. This should include medical supplies and medical attention for those requiring it.

We also ask the trade union movement of Britain to help alleviate the suffering of these men and women by supporting our appeal for money and clothing. This is the least we can do to honourably discharge our debt to them.

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Beatrice Webb

by R. PAGE ARNOT

BEATRICE WEBB, who died on April 30 in her eighty-sixth year, was the most outstanding woman in the history of the British labour movement.

The story of her early upbringing in the mid-Victorian ruling class with its Liberal capitalist traditions, told with honesty and dispassionate candour in *My Apprenticeship*, gives the key to much of her subsequent work. With her husband she raised social investigation from its contemporary wallowings in charity organisation to a scientific level. Their investigations, skilfully combining statistical analysis and documentation with personal interviewing, were always distinguished not only by this detail scientific method but by a rare regard for the facts within their vision.

They were free from the fugitive impressionability which afflicted so many of their disciples. But, deeply subject in another sense to the impression made by local conditions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to the peculiar position in those years of British Imperialism, they regarded the Marxism they encountered as a ghost of the 'forties haunting the labour movement.

They became, with their fellow Fabians, the founders and clearest exponents of reformist Socialism, of the one side of the great division from the 'nineties onwards within the international labour movement. Their standpoint dominated the outlook of the leaders of the movement in Britain. For over twenty-five years their assumptions of the probable course of development found nothing to break the confident tenor of their work. But the era ushered in by the war of 1914-18 brought a shock to their preconceptions (duly recorded with their unfailing candour) and thereafter a note of questioning is heard, especially in *The Decay of Capitalist Civilisation*. Still their hopes were in the possibilities of a peaceful reformist transition through Labour Governments in Britain. But after the hopes had met with the experience of the MacDonald administrations of 1924 and 1929-31, they retired from their active participation in British politics.

It was then that they turned once more to social investigation. Looking upon the world, they found the subject most worthy of serious study and enquiry to be the Soviet Union.

With an exemplary passion for ascertaining the facts, these "two aged mortals, both nearing their ninth decade," set out on their last, and their greatest, investigation. With skill undiminished, indeed enhanced by experience of over fifty years' administrative practice in national and local government, they sought out and grasped the realities of "Soviet Communism." What they saw, that they described: and the result was authoritative for their progressive-minded audience in the west of Europe.

Their first great work, the *History of Trade Unionism*, written from a Fabian standpoint, was a classic fifty years ago, and remains to this day.

Their last great work, also written from a Fabian standpoint (which is the explanation both of its extreme value as testimony and also of its shortcomings) might be described as a triumph of the English empiric.

Their *History of Trade Unionism* was once greeted with derision from a newspaper which advised the Webbs that they would have been better employed on studying the habits of earthworms. Their *Soviet Communism: a New Civilisation* was greeted seven years ago with hatred, openly expressed or thinly disguised under mechanical praise (Beatrice Webb, in a letter, said that the LABOUR MONTHLY had published the most intelligent and understanding of all the book reviews) and vague cackle about the Webbs having "gone Communist" and "their uncritical advocacy" of the U.S.S.R. revealed the depth of prejudice created by eighteen years' vilification of the Soviet Union.

Then in the last five years of her life Beatrice Webb devoted all her propagandist skill, polemical ability and accumulated experience of British political life and institutions to building up the friendship of the British and Soviet peoples. As her bodily strength lessened, her mental powers soared higher and her mood grew keener. Outstanding from the beginning, Beatrice Webb towered over her contemporaries to the end.

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Documents of the Month

Proposal for Dissolution of the Communist International

[*The following resolution of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, adopted on May 15, and received too late for comment in this issue, is given here in its full text for purposes of record.*—ED. L.M.]

The historic role of the Communist International, organised in 1919 as a result of the political collapse of the overwhelming majority of the old pre-1914 war workers' parties, consisted in preserving the teachings of Marxism from vulgarisation and distortion by opportunist elements in the working-class movement, in helping to unite in a number of countries the vanguard of the advanced workers into genuine working-class parties, and in helping them to mobilise the masses of the workers in defence of their economic and political interests, for the struggle against Fascism and the war which the latter was preparing and for support of the Soviet Union as the main bulwark against Fascism.

The Communist International from the first exposed the true significance of the "Anti-Comintern" pact as a weapon for the preparation of war by the Hitlerites.

Long prior to the war the Communist International untiringly exposed the base undermining activity engaged in within foreign states by the Hitlerites, who masked it with outcries about alleged interference on the part of the Communist International in the internal affairs of such states.

But long before the war it already became more and more clear that with the increasing complications of the internal as well as international relations of the various countries, any sort of international centre was bound to encounter insuperable obstacles in attempting the solution of the problems facing the working-class movement of each particular individual country.

The deep differences in the historic paths of development of the various countries of the world, the differences of character and even of the contradiction in their social orders, the differences in the level and tempo of their economic and political development, and finally the differences in the degree of consciousness and organisation of their workers, conditioned the different problems which faced the working class of each particular country.

The entire course of events for the past quarter of a century, as well as the accumulated experiences of the Communist International, have convincingly shown that the organisational form for uniting the workers chosen by the First Congress of the Communist International and which corresponded to the needs of the initial period of the rebirth of the working-class movement, has more and more become outgrown by the movement's development and by the increasing complexity of its problems in the separate countries, and has even become a hindrance to the further strengthening of the national working-class parties.

The world war unleashed by the Hitlerites has still further sharpened the differences in the situation of the various countries, drawing a deep dividing line between those countries which have become the bearers of Hitlerite tyranny and the freedom-loving peoples who have united in the mighty anti-Hitlerite coalition.

Whereas in the countries of the Hitlerite bloc the basic task of the workers, and of all honest people, consists in contributing all help to the defeat of that bloc, by sabotage of the Hitlerite war machine from within and by helping to overthrow the Governments who are guilty of the war, in the countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, the sacred duty of the broadest masses of the people, and first and foremost of the progressive workers, is to support in every way the war efforts of the Governments of these countries aimed at the speediest destruction of the Hitlerite bloc, and to ensure friendly collaboration between the nations on the basis of their equal rights.

At the same time it must not be overlooked that individual countries which adhere to the anti-Hitler coalition also have their particular tasks.

Thus for instance in the countries occupied by the Hitlerites and which have lost their state independence, the basic task of the progressive workers and of the broad masses of the people is to promote the armed struggle which is growing into a war of national liberation against Hitlerite Germany.

At the same time the war of liberation of the freedom-loving peoples against the Hitlerite tyranny, which has set into motion the broadest masses of the people, uniting them in the ranks of the mighty anti-Hitlerite coalition irrespective of party or religion, has made it still more evident that the national upsurge and mobilisation of the masses for speediest victory over the enemy can best and most fruitfully be realised by the vanguard of the working-class movement of each country within the framework of its own state.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International, held in 1935, taking into account the changes which had taken place in the international situation as well as in the working-class movement, changes which demanded greater flexibility and independence of its sections in solving the problems facing them, already then emphasised the need for the Executive Committee of the Communist International in coming to a decision on the various problems of the working-class movement "to proceed from the concrete situation and

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specified conditions obtaining in each particular country and as a rule avoid direct intervention in the internal organisational affairs of the Communist Parties."

The Executive Committee of the Communist International was guided by these same considerations when it took note of and approved the decision of the Communist Party of the United States of America in November, 1940, to leave the ranks of the Communist International.

Guided by the teachings of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, Communists have never advocated the preservation of organisational forms which have become obsolete; they have always subordinated forms of the working-class movement and its methods of work to the basic political interests of the working-class movement as a whole, to the peculiarities of the given concrete historical conditions and to the problems arising directly from these conditions.

They remember the example of the great Marx who united progressive workers into the ranks of the International Working Men's Association, and who, when the First International had fulfilled its historic task, having laid the basis for the development of workers' parties in the countries of Europe and America, as a result of the matured situation for creating national workers' mass parties brought about the dissolution of the First International, inasmuch as this form of organisation no longer corresponded to the needs of the situation.

Proceeding from the above-stated considerations, and taking into account the growth of political maturity of the Communist Parties and their leading cadres in the individual countries, and also having in view the fact that during the present war a number of sections have raised the question of the dissolution of the Communist International as a guiding centre of the international labour movement, the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, unable owing to the conditions of the world war to convene a Congress of the Communist International, permits itself to submit for approval by the sections of the Communist International the following proposal:—

To dissolve the Communist International as a guiding centre of the labour movement, releasing the sections of the Communist International from the obligations ensuing from the constitution and the decisions of the Congresses of the Communist International.

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International calls upon all adherents of the Communist International to concentrate their forces on all-round support for and active participation in the liberation war of the peoples and states of the anti-Hitlerite coalition in order to hasten the destruction of the mortal enemy of the working people—German Fascism and its allies and vassals.

THE PRESIDIUM OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

(Signed)

G. DIMITROV.	O. KUUSINEN.
M. ERCOLI.	D. MANUILSKY.
W. FLORIN.	A. MARTY.
K. GOTTWALD.	W. PIECK.
V. KOLAROV.	M. THOREZ.
J. KOPLENIG.	A. ZHDANOV.

The following representatives of Communist Parties also append their signatures to the present resolution:—

BIANCO (Italy).
DOLORES IBARRURI (Spain).
LEHTINEN (Finland).
ANNA PAUKER (Rumania).
MATTHIAS RAKOSI (Hungary).

Resolution of Central Committee of Communist Party of Great Britain

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International has placed before its affiliated sections a proposal that "the Communist International, as the directing centre of the international working-class movement, shall be dissolved, thus freeing the sections of the Communist International from their obligations arising from the statutes and resolutions of the Congresses of the Communist International."

This proposal is made at a moment when the most vital and decisive battles in the world struggle against Fascism are opening out, and when the whole strength of the United Nations needs to be concentrated on the single aim of defeating Fascism, and avoiding the dangers of a prolonged war.

The importance of this proposal, which corresponds to the urgency of the struggle still to be waged against Fascism, is that it will help to strengthen national and international unity, and in this way increases the hopes of victory that now dominate the thoughts and actions of the people of the United Nations and those enslaved by Fascism.

* * * * * *

As a result of the development of the mass struggle against Fascism, the complicated character of the problems in the separate countries, and the growth of firmly-established Communist Parties, it has become increasingly clear, as stated in the Presidium resolution, that "the general national upsurge and mobilisation of the people

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for the speediest victory over the enemy can be best of all and most fruitfully carried out by the vanguard of the working-class movement of each separate country working within the framework of its own country."

The howl of rage from the Nazi camp indicates their realisation that this step of the Communist International will strengthen the unity of the United Nations and the fight for the unconditional surrender of the Axis Powers.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain accepts the proposal of the Presidium of the Communist International, and will recommend its coming Party Congress to endorse this decision.

It pledges itself to continue and intensify its efforts for winning the war, strengthening the national front against Fascism, and the achievement of the closest unity between all sections of the labour movement fighting against Fascism.

Book Reviews

What Happened in History

What Happened in History by Gordon Childe (Pelican Books, 9*d*.).

GORDON CHILDE has a talent for titles. His new title is as good as *Man Makes Himself*, and the book, too, is as good, if not better. Its period is from "the beginning" to about 300 A.D., its theme the development of human society, its method materialistic. Human society is treated as a continuation of natural history. Man's spiritual heritage is a social creation. The origin of speech, the invention of writing (of which a new and brilliant account is given) the development of Greek science and of Christian theology are all alike treated as examples of social evolution fully explicable within the limits of the natural. To quote a characteristic example of his style and matter: "Evidently societies of men 'cannot live by bread alone.' But if 'every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God' does not directly or indirectly promote the growth, the biological and economic prosperity of the society that sanctifies them, that society and its god with it will vanish ultimately. It is this natural selection that guarantees that *in the long run* the ideals of a society are 'just translations and inversions in men's minds of the material.' "

But if the merit of this book lies in its provision of fresh materialist interpretations of the development of society during the long period of which it treats, it would be a mistake to regard it as fully Marxist. An enthusiastic reviewer of the earlier *Man Makes Himself* described it as the book which Marx and Engels would have written if they had known the results of modern archaeological research. This is too high a compliment. Childe supplies factual knowledge, and with it interpretations of detail, unknown to Marx and Engels. In theory he does not approximate to them. To illustrate this comparative weakness from the quotation already given from the present book, if it is only *in the long run* that the ideals of society are translations and inversions in men's minds of the material, what are they in the short run? Of all its readers Marxists will give the fullest welcome to this book, but they will not need the author's occasional disclaimers to remind them that it is not fully Marxist.

Since this book, it may be hoped and expected, will be printed again and again, we venture to ask the author to see whether (p. 192) he has not ascribed the opinions of Anaximenes to Anaximander, and whether the Hippocrates mentioned on p. 198 did not come from Cos, not Chios. Possibly also the evidence adduced in Carcopino's *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* might modify his enthusiasm for the amenities of urban life under the Roman empire. But these are only trifles. The book is rich in ideas, rich in facts, vigorous in style, and admirably readable—a new and splendid example of popularisation by the leading British archaeologist.

B. FARRINGTON.

Shorter Notice

Industrial Relations in Germany, 1914-1939, an annotated bibliography of materials in the Hoover Library on War, Revolution and Peace, and the Stanford University Library, compiled by Waldo Chamberlin (Stanford University Press, California, and Oxford University Press, pp. 403, 5 dols.).

THIS WORK is an annotated catalogue of material to be found in the Stanford University Libraries. Under "industrial relations" is understood any matter affecting the relationship between employers and employees, and, of course, much of the material listed here is political in character. The Hoover collection is extremely valuable, including not only official German publications, but also many newspapers, pamphlets, etc., of the working-class movement; certainly there is no collection to compare with it in Britain. The comments of the compiler are useful, and there is a helpful note on German Labour Law by Ernst Rehbock. The historian of the Germany between 1914 and 1939 is in permanent debt to the Hoover Library and Mr. Chamberlin.

R.P.

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